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ABSTRACT

This case study offers an account of the processes of program development. Specifically, it reports on the experiences of a faculty team that developed a preservice program to prepare students for teaching pupils from diverse backgrounds, with the ultimate goal of fostering equity in educational institutions. An analysis is made of written documentation of the topics covered in the two-year period during which the team met to develop the new program according to stated goals. Four stages of program development are identified: (1) concept clarification--what do diversity and equity mean? (2) course development--what shall we teach in our individual courses? (3) program design--how do all these courses hang together? and (4) bureaucratic approval--how can we get the program passed? It is concluded that, although discourse emphases were appropriate during these stages, the discourse in the meetings was neither cohesive nor cumulative and that persistent flight from addressing substantive issues in program development resulted in a continuous erosion of program goals. A brief discussion is presented on the implications of these findings for the implementation of educational innovations in general. (Author/JD)

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Conceptual Development and Curriculum Change: Or Is It Rhetoric and Fantasy?

Linda A. Patriarca and Margret Buchmann

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Abstract

This case study offers a retrospective account of processes of program development in undergraduate education. Specifically, it reports on the experiences of a faculty team that developed a preservice program to prepare participants for teaching students from diverse backgrounds, with the ultimate goal of fostering equity in educational institutions. The primary data source was the written documentation of the topics covered in deliberations and the major decisions made by the development team. The analytical description of this effort at goal-focused curriculum change was organized by stages and contexts of program development. Themes that characterized discourse and incidents were identified on the basis of the archival data and associated with stages and contexts of development. Findings were interpreted by drawing on theories of organizational change and behavior. The authors argue that "unsegmented" decision-making structures, open participatory arrangements, and high degrees of freedom for input in the curriculum development process contribute to a progressive replacement of substantive by social and process goals. They consider the implications of these findings for the implementation of educational innovations in general.

CONCEPTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND CURRICULUM CHANGE: OR IS IT RHETORIC AND FANTASY?[1]

Linda A. Patriarca and Margret Buchmann[2]

> Educational decisions are rarely final, take a great deal of time, usually involve anxiety and threats to harmonious relationships, and are frequently the prelude to more effort rather than less. (K.E. Shaw, 1972, p. 59)

Educational Innovations: Learning from Experience?

In American education, improvement tends to be equated with innovation. Institutions that stress change and innovation are regarded as viable, effective, and responsive (see Pine, 1980; Popkewitz, Note 1). But, although innovation creates a potential for improvement, innovation in itself does not insure its realization. Lack of improvement, however, can become invisible through social dynamics and discourse phenomena that veil the absence of goal attainment.

Social dynamics can strengthen people's tendencies to be misled by their own experiences and linguistic behavior. For instance, discourse that brings about a sense of growing group cohesiveness and cooperation may give participants a sense of growing competence in their work. From an institu-

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[1]An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York City, March 1982.

[2]Linda Patriarca is an associate professor in the Department of Counseling, Educational Psychology, and Special Education. Margaret Buchmann is an assistant professor in the Department of Teacher Education and was program co-ordinator of the Program Studies Project.

tional point of view, such discourse may be functional. But a discourse of reassurance is dysfunctional when it frustrates people's ability to take on--in thought and action--the substance of the matter at hand. Social goals can conflict with substantive goals; as Bridges (1979) argues in his analysis of discussion in education.

> In so far as one values open enquiry, serious critical discussion or the development and expansion of understanding, one must regard the pursuit of consensus and the defence of community as obstructions to one's purposes--at least to the extent that (and this is an important qualification)--the bonding values of the community are values other than those associated with the development of knowledge and understanding. (p. 94)

Curriculum development in education often occurs in group settings, which are themselves placed in an institutional context. The accumulation of practical good sense about curriculum development in these nested settings depends on our understanding of these processes. Thus R. Wise (1979) makes a plea for the study of practice in curriculum development:

> We do not have a rich archive . . . in which what happened and how well it happened are presented. We do not recount for others the problems solved, the solutions discovered, the solutions failed . . . We do not distil from our experience what manners of imagination, judgement, argument or brainstorming helped or hindered our work. We ought to be reflecting on our experiences in curriculum development, recounting them to ourselves, analysing them, and presenting accounts to our colleagues in a form that helps them understand the significance of the experience, the lessons of the experience. (p. 25)

On the basis of archival data, we report on the experiences of a development team that worked for two years to achieve programmatic changes in undergraduate teacher education at a large midwestern university. Educational innovations often invoke the problematic authority of science. But, since truth is a dominant element in the scientific ethos, *criticism* is its central social practice. After all, as Oscar Wilde put it, "Experience is the name every one gives to their mistakes."

In what follows, we (1) characterize contexts in which this effort at goal-focussed change occurred, (2) formulate research questions, (3) describe the data base and methods of analysis, (4) identify themes that capture behavioral and linguistic phenomena related to stages of program development, (5) discuss what these findings imply for educational reforms about which we are serious.

Contexts of Program Development

Three contexts were relevant to this educational innovation: substantive, group, and institutional. Although each is discussed separately for purposes of analysis, in reality, these contexts were intertwined and interactive.

Substantive Context

The substantive context comprises the content goals of the innovation. In the curriculum development effort we studied, the proximate goal was to design and implement an undergraduate teacher-education program that could prepare future teachers for teaching students from diverse backgrounds. The ultimate goal, however, was to foster equity in educational institutions through curriculum development and associated teacher preparation.

The concept of equity was central in this substantive context. It informs social, political, and legal discussions in education. But a variety of different and conflicting concepts of equity exist. Some think of equity as a principle for distributing (scarce) resources. The class of input definitions of educational equity is in itself diversified. For instance, as A.E. Wise (1968) points out, distribution can be guided by the notion that equal amounts of scarce resources should be allocated to students. Perceived

differences in student needs can, however, lead to classification schemes that require the specification of suitable and *different* educational programs for students with certain characteristics. Distributive concepts of equity can also be formulated in terms of a negative principle that requires (in a deceptively simple way) that the educational opportunity of children should not depend on geographical location and the economic circumstances of their parents.

On the other hand, equity can be conceptualized in terms of the of the educational process. This can be interpreted as a requirement for equal minimum attainments. Leveling definitions fall, however, also under this category; these imply the allocation of scarce resources in inverse proportion to ability. Equity has furthermore been viewed as a social ideal that urges the development of fraternal attitudes and sympathies among people. Equality in the distribution of resources is not central to this definition; and it is consistent with social, educational, and economic inequality.

These conflicting interpretations of the concept of equity are problematic because they imply vastly different policies. They affect decisions made by judges, policy-makers, and teachers. In the classroom, they lead to different kinds of teacher actions and student outcomes. Thus, to develop a teacher-education program capable of advancing equity goals in some coherent fashion, it was not necessary to resolve the philosophical problem of equity. But *some* understanding of conceptual range and of the basic distinctions among equity concepts (e.g., input versus output) was necessary to arrive at a working definition that could inform discourse and development. Without this, there could be no common, reasoned standards for judging the

appropriateness of curricular experiences and program design. In the absence of such standards, the implicit and divergent beliefs and commitments of faculty members had to be relied upon.

Faculty-Interactive Context

The faculty-interactive context comprises the group processes intended as a means to achieve substantive goals. Faculty members (and several public school teachers) interacted in formally scheduled meetings. Two coordinators developed agendas, moderated group discussions, and served as liaisons between the faculty and the administration. At the same time, these team leaders did not have formal authority over faculty nor the power to lay down the law about program direction. The rules that governed faculty interaction and decision making during program development were democratic and laissez-faire. Participants exercised their individual and collective rights by voting on issues: one person, one vote.

Institutional Context

Institutional context refers to administrative structure and institutional bureaucracy. Administrative structure means the hierarchically ordered complex of people who stand in specific line relationships to the faculty, such as department chairpersons, the assistant dean for teacher education, and the dean of the College of Education. Institutional bureaucracy is the complex of bodies with decision-making power over matters related to teacher education, such as policy councils and curriculum committees. New programs or courses had to be brought before both bodies for approval.

A large research grant transformed the institution at which this change effort took place from an institution with a primary focus on teaching and

service into one with a more even balance between teaching and research. New funds created new positions, and these were filled with faculty from prestigious research institutions. Thus, two camps began to form: the practitioners, who controlled and taught the courses, and the researchers who controlled and conducted educational research. Official policy makers wanted faculty members to intermingle, to expand and exchange their roles, so that all would ideally be teachers as well as researchers.

The creation of multiple program strands in teacher preparation prompted the formation and organization of development teams. These teams were typically formed by self-selection. Faculty members involved in teacher preparation or educational research were invited to select and join a program strand and to participate in course and program development. Substantial numbers of faculty did associate themselves with development teams. Coordinators monitored and reviewed the composition of teams to insure that professionals with expertise in psychological foundations, relevant subject matter areas, field supervision, philosophical foundations, and educational research were represented. Thus a wide array of professionals participated in diversified program-development teams.

Research Questions

In this case study, we offer a retrospective account of processes of program development. Our analytical description involves dynamic hypotheses, and we consider in our interpretation certain, possibly causal, connections (see Scriven, 1977). Social processes and discourse dynamics in different contexts of program development led us to formulate questions about educational innovations in general and about this attempt at curricular change in teacher education in particular. After a review of the archival and supplementary data, we asked, specifically:

1. What stages can be identified in the flow of team discourse and action?

2. Is there a difference between initially stated program goals and the goals that seem to drive discourse during the observed stages of program development?

3. Do goals associated with "working together" in democratically structured groups conflict with substantive goals and their achievement?

4. How is a rhetoric of change maintained in the face of relative stability?

Data Sources and Methods of Analysis

Our primary data source was the written documentation of the topics covered in deliberations and the major decisions made by the development team. This qualitative data set was compiled over a two-year period (for the most part) by two social scientists who acted as documentors to the program. Notes from interviews with team members, personal anecdotal records kept by one coordinator, and the informal program history were supplementary data.

As a data source, the written meeting minutes have some weaknesses. The team decided early on that conflicts and political issues were not to be recorded. No names were to be linked to issues or decisions. The minutes are written in the third person and are sometimes stilted and formal. The supplementary data are thus important for filling out the picture.

The data analysis draws on work in qualitative evaluation and case studies (Patton, 1980; Stenhouse, 1978; Guba, Note 2). A complete reading of the records yielded initial questions, notes on striking events, and some thoughts on how several incidents might "hang together" as a theme. In the second round, program minutes and records of decisions were read side by side with the personal, anecdotal records. Incidents that might fit with one of

the (potential) themes were recorded, and so were lacks of fit and counterexamples. Data were searched for answers to initial questions (e.g., whether stages in program development could be identified). The anecdotal records not only filled out the background for the archival data, but often helped toward a detailed recall of events.

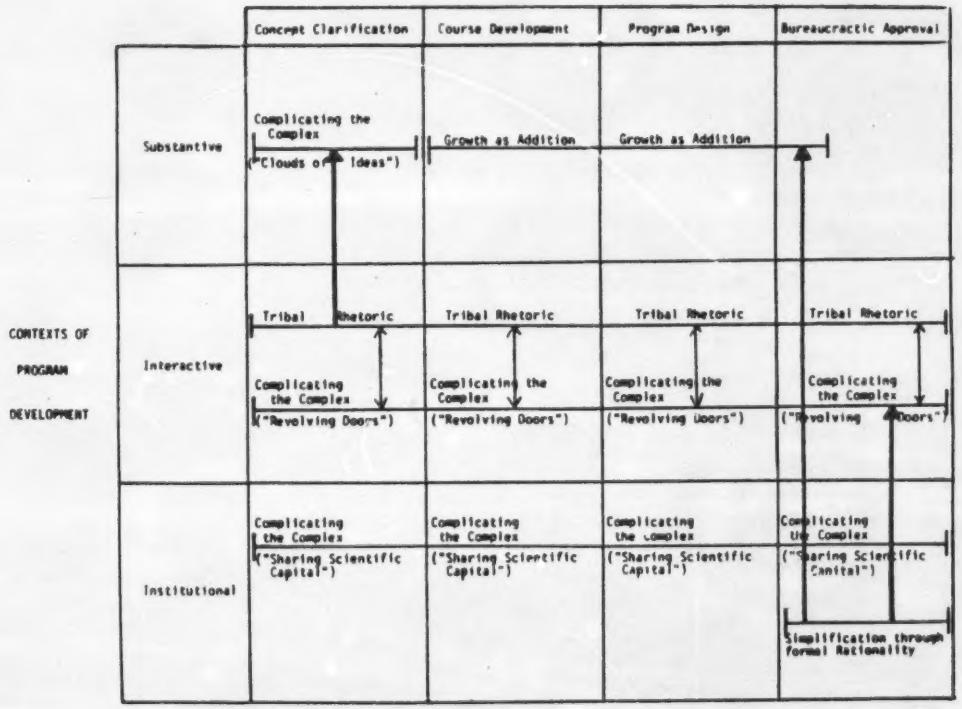
To organize themes with accompanying documentation, we did a third reading of all data in which particular attention was paid to single evocative incidents. Did they give credence to a theme? Did they point to a possible new or different theme? The questions that we formulated at this stage were fairly close to the research questions listed above. We also found that the occurrence of themes could be related to different stages and contexts of program development.

We were, finally, concerned with relationships among themes: dynamic interactions, logical complementarity, and hierarchical organization. We considered possible overall themes and evocative elements that supported or threw doubt on them. Inclusiveness was tested by seeing how many incidents (of some significance) were unassignable to themes or contexts and stages of program development. At this point we checked for the internal consistency of themes and for the degree to which they presented a whole picture when viewed externally.

In sum, we worked by logical analysis and cross-classification. (See Table 1.) The categorical matrix contains classifications by contexts (of discourse) and by patterned action in time (stages of program development). The themes are for the most part meta-phorical and none too ponderous. They are a parsimonious way to communicate our findings.

Table 1

Summary of Findings:
Stages and Contexts of Program Development
and Themes and Their Relationships



Note. A one-way arrow stands for a solution of the problem toward which the arrow points. A two-way arrow indicates interaction and mutual support.

Themes in Program Development: Their Interrelation and Association with Stages and Contexts of Program Development

A number of themes characterized two years of team meetings devoted to developing the undergraduate program, Teaching in Heterogeneous Classrooms. We analyze these themes separately as well as in their conceptual and empirical relation to each other, and document them according to the program development context to which they are relevant. Furthermore, we locate themes in the progression of four observed stages of program development, namely:

1. Concept clarification: What do diversity and equity mean?
2. Course development: What shall we teach in our individual courses?
3. Program design: How do all these courses hang together?
4. Bureaucratic approval: How can we get the program passed?

We pause at this point to note that the coordinators' original intent was to move from concept clarification to program design. Accordingly, they recommended that the development team split into small working groups for purposes of drafting programs for discussion and decision making. However, several members of the team argued that they could neither construct nor endorse a particular program design without first knowing what courses and course content team members would propose in their different areas. Given the diversity of the team and the fact that there is no universally accepted prescriptive model of program design, it was thus decided to go from concept clarification to course development.

The Overall Theme: Complicating the Complex

As can be seen in Table 1, one major theme emerged: complicating the complex. This theme is an umbrella for three sub-themes: clouds of ideas,

revolving doors, and sharing scientific capital. These themes emerged, respectively, in the substantive, interactive, and institutional contexts of program development. Two of the sub-themes of complicating the complex--revolving doors and sharing scientific capital--persisted through all four stages of program development.

Themes Identified in the Substantive Context

In the substantive context, we identified two themes, clouds of ideas, a sub-theme of complicating the complex, and growth as addition. These themes did not occur together, but characterize the concept clarification, course development, and program design stages as indicated in Table 1. We now turn to an analysis of these two themes.

Clouds of ideas. In weekly meetings the group discussed conceptual questions related to "diversity" and "equity." Deliberations in this substantive context did not clarify issues, however, and did not lead to decision making. As March and Olsen (1979) note,

> the capacity for beliefs, attitudes, and concern is larger than the capacity for action. Under such circumstances, we will observe beliefs and values without behavioral consequences. (p. 14)

Billowing clouds of ideas arose--and then just floated on by, sometimes to return, other times to disappear for good. When on issue was raised, this became an occasion for suggesting new questions and ideas to be addressed, and so forth. What follows are excerpts from field notes (1/25/80; 4/11/80; 4/18/80; 9/16/80) that document this theme:

> Will we attend to the gifted and talented students in this program? (While specific components of heterogeneity are yet to be determined, we may assume the gifted and talented will be included.)
>
> Should our goals be to promote awareness of differing opinions regarding sex roles? To promote tolerance? To advocate change from the status

quo? No conclusions were reached specifically about sex roles, but one general notion supported by the group was advocacy of "extended we-ness", a feeling of community which would include hitherto excluded diverse groups in society.

Concerning categories of heterogeneity, particular attention was drawn to the inclusion of "religious heterogeneity": The concern is not to include religion in the schools but to be sensitive to ways of dealing with religious differences.

Issues related to child abuse and incest were discussed, leading to questions regarding the manner in which "difficult" issues might be addressed.

It was suggested that we add age, children's rights and family structure to our categories of diversity.

This behavior could not result in conceptual clarification. Instead, it promoted mystification and the obfuscation of issues. But it did further certain social goals. Through the gesture of *raising* issues and questions, group members established a sense of investment and showed that they were concerned. Since team members did not have to provide a rationale for suggestions, did not discuss their merits, and did not move the group toward decision making, no responsibility was taken for ideas. A growing sense of faculty involvement and competence in handling substantive issues was thus illusory. But, through bringing up ideas, unwritten obligations of collaborative work had been fulfilled and a form of social competence demonstrated.

Growth as Addition

During the course development and program-design stages, the tendency to become all-inclusive persisted. In the substantive context of program

development, it took the shape of growth as addition. The answer to the problem of developing curricular content and experiences with a view toward advancing equity goals was the generation of a spiral staircase of ideas. This staircase progressed through curricular *additions* meant to prepare teachers to teach diverse students: onward and, supposedly, upward. *Substitutions* of course content were rarely mentioned. Traditional course content as well as the building blocks of the teacher-education curriculum remained sacrosanct. New content simply had to be added and fitted into pre-existent curricular and programmatic categories.[3]

This practice elegantly solved a problem that had both substantial and social aspects, namely, how to discriminate among different suggestions. No common standards existed to judge whether specific suggestions would advance tenable equity goals. There was little basis on which suggestions could be excluded without seeming caprice. What followed from this was a free-for- all in which few feelings were likely to be hurt. As a strategy for program design this is, of course, a bit lacking. Further individual and social pay-offs made this strategy attractive.

Innovative program development requires that professionals appear open-minded and willing to change what they teach and how they go about it. Through growth-as-addition, group members created the collective and individual illusion of professional openness and flexibility. Addition could also be mistaken as movement toward substantive goals and as programmatic

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[3]Floden, Porter, Schmidt, Freeman & Schwille (1981) have uncovered the same tendency in the curriculum decision-making of classroom teachers in the content area of mathematics. While teachers seem quite amenable to the notion of curriculum additions, they are less willing to consider substitutions of old by new content. In a historical study of concepts of geometry in German textbooks by Damerow (Note 3) the same phenomenon was identified at the textual and conceptual level.

change. But, by any definition of growth as positive development and worthwhile change, no growth can be accomplished by undiscriminating addition. Furthermore, these numerous additions were unrealistic and likely to fall by the wayside. The time limits of the teacher preparation curriculum are set. And, once faculty disperse to teach in their classrooms, they would probably revert to what they knew how to teach.

Themes Identified in the Interactive and Institutional Contexts

The interactive context was characterized by the themes "tribal rhetoric" and "revolving doors"; the latter is the second sub-theme of "complicating the complex." The third sub-theme of complicating the complex, "sharing scientific capital," emerged in the institutional context. These three themes describe group behavior across all four stages of program development; we analyze and document them in what follows.

Tribal rhetoric. As faculty become adept in the use of program jargon--heterogeneity, non-discriminatory educational treatments, equity, equal opportunity--particular usages and patterns of speaking become habitualized. These terms were *displayed* in speech, rather than used with some understanding in the development of the program.

In effect, "tribal rhetoric" was a communal solution to the substantive problem of the conceptual stage, namely, the creation of working definitions of concepts central to the development of the program. Tribal rhetoric assumed common understandings, although these were never tested. *Forms* of linguistic behavior served as evidence of group membership, competence, and concern. Tribal rhetoric was a self-supporting phenomenon with ritual functions. Although the discourse progressively moved the group away from program goals, it became a symbol of change, movement, and innovation. To

paraphrase the title of a book by Edelman (1977): words succeeded and made people feel successful; the fate of the policies, however, seemed uncertain.

Revolving doors. As we analyzed the documents, we were struck by the continuous alterations in group membership. Although there was a stable core of faculty, a revolving door policy was operating: easy come, easy go. We wondered why new participants were allowed to join and to drop out again. Entry of new members into a group is liable to activate regressive and repetitious discussions of goals, thereby impeding progress toward them. This is what happened here too.

Initiation into groups is accompanied by linguistic behavior with strong ritual elements. It relies, in part, on the power of words. As a policy, "revolving doors" thus supported the discourse phenomenon of tribal rhetoric.

Membership alteration did further impede progress toward substantive goals by putting social goals in their place. The social virtues require that newcomers be introduced to a group, its purposes, and ways of doing things. Group members used development time to be nice and hospitable--rather than getting on with the business at hand. In the last analysis, membership alteration encouraged fantasies. Different faces around the table can give the impression that things are changing, even where discourse and action are not moving forward.

Sharing scientific capital. In weekly team meetings, announcements regarding potential funding sources for program development or research in related areas were made repeatedly. Considerable time was spent discussing these issues, even though some were quite remote from what the group was about at this point in time. Here are some examples from the documenters' field notes (5/2/80; 10/9/80; 11/20/80; 10/30/80):

The first part of the meeting was devoted to a presentation of ideas

> related to the proposal currently being written which could fund the activities of our group along with other activities over the next three years.
>
> A brief overview of a meeting with (a school district representative), regarding the potential for College of Education funding from Title IV.D was provided.
>
> The All-University Newsletter announced some grants pursuing linkages between the College of Education and school districts for curriculum development. The deadline date for applying is in January. For anyone interested in pursuing funding (the Associate Dean for Research and Program Development) has a listing of possible sources.
>
> (A researcher) announced that there is funding available in Washington for a summer training workshop. . . .
>
> (An anthropologist) invited to the meeting to share information regarding his proposal for a Brazil experience for cooperating teachers, presented the following points: . . . .

Given that these kinds of announcements and discussions could not directly lead to the realization of program goals and that development time was limited, why were they given the place they held throughout all stages of program development?

In their diversity, all these occasions contributed to the illusion that the group was productive, while masking the absence of goal attainment. By providing some substance for discussion, they helped group members to appear active, involved, and even as "go-getters." Group activity on these occasions was self-supporting while being independent of professed program goals. There were also gratifications. This exhibition of the "community calendar of social scientists" helped all participants to see themselves as important and scholarly professionals. Practitioners were admitted to the sacred regions of the social-science knowledge industry. "Sharing scientific capital" was a social and conversational gesture with symbolic pay-offs, appropriate to the institutional context.

Simplification Through Formal Rationality

In the bureaucratic approval stage, group activities shifted from conceptual and curricular development to the packaging of the program in the format on which such approval would depend. Success was predicated upon compliance. Administrative and institutional givens moved into the foreground.

The group experienced, with some relief, a sense of "simplification through formal rationality." The work to be done now was, in principle, clear and well-defined. The problems created earlier by "growth as addition" could be handled by reference to procedures, requirements, and the categorical limitations of data sheets. As participants filled out forms at both the course and program level, the baroque results of earlier all-inclusiveness tended to be corrected. In the course of streamlining the program and individual courses, decisions to cut could be referred to external constraints to which every proposal was equally susceptible. Thus the requirements of the system were to some extent helpful, though incomplete.

The revolving door was brought to a halt by the creation of a brochure that listed program staff; it also put tribal rhetoric into print and established a sense of program reality. The product now had to be marketed. Group discussions were animated by concerns for advertisement, recruitment, competition for incoming students, and identification of field placements. There was a movement outward. State requirements and questions of national visibility broadened the scope of concerns to increase not only a sense of successful coping, but a sense of importance.

This flurry of activities resulted in a variety of tangible products and devalued the documentation of group processes and associated products (i.e., field notes). Thus, in the last six months of program development, the role of the documentor was assigned to a graduate student: a person of lower status and less expertise. In the last term, the team met only four times. The volume of documentation declined greatly. In their business-like brevity, the following excerpts from field notes portray the mood of this final stage of program development (9/28/81; 10/12/81; 11/20/81; 1/21/82):

> How will competition for recruitment be addressed?
>
> Brochure: This needs to be developed.
>
> National visibility of program needs to be addressed in terms of student recruitment and marketing.
>
> How and when will national considerations be addressed (e.g., student placements, future job prospects, contacts with administrative personnel)?
>
> *Timelines*: All course descriptions must be in by the end of finals week, December 11. Any one who needs the official University form may contact (the coordinator).
>
> There are 32 students enrolled in our program.
>
> The Curriculum Committee will meet January 27. They will react to individual course offerings within programs.
>
> The University Teacher Education Committee will meet . . . to examine programs for state certification requirements. . . .

Like a cohort of good soldiers, the team coped with bureaucratic and administrative realities. Thus there were again social rewards. And the movement of program forms through prescribed channels signalled a forward movement. The introduction of completed form sheets into the bureaucratic structure of committees with approval function stimulated ripples of

institutional activity. Things were happening at a brisk pace; there were deadlines. Advertisement and recruitment took place in a market made competitive by declining enrollments and the creation of multiple program strands in teacher preparation at this university. "There are 32 students in our program"--at this level of analysis, the challenge of innovative program development had been met.

Looking Back: What Do We See?

As we examined this program development effort across its four stages--concept clarification, course development, program design, and bureaucratic approval--we found that, although discourse emphases were fitting during these stages, the discourse itself was neither cohesive nor cumulative. For example, a shift in discourse emphasis away from definitions of equity did not imply that working definitions had been selected and agreed upon. Rather, shifts in discourse emphasis occurred when the time available for a task had run out. Whatever the state of resolution or development, it was time to move on. Thus, as also noted above, the requirements of the system did force some issues and encouraged the progression through stages of program development. In the case of the shift from conceptual clarification to course development, the appropriateness of development to equity goals rested on the beliefs and knowledge of individual team members. Consequently, course proposals ranged from serious attempts to incorporate (diversely conceptualized) equity goals in curricular experiences to revivals of traditional course content touched up with tribal rhetoric. This was bound to hamper program design--if not on paper, then in the actual experiences students could be expected to have. Program design was essentially reduced to a political process with strong formal aspects in which courses were put into sequence and course credits negotiated.

Looking back, we see the team's persistent flight from addressing substantive issues in program development. This flight from substance was the central reason for the continuous erosion of program goals. This erosion, however, was masked by a concomitant goal displacement (see Lipsky, 1980). As we observed in the development of a goal-focused program in teacher preparation--although curriculum change was the matter at hand--discourse became progressively more removed from the curricular experiences intended for students, turning, instead to a discourse of tribal rhetoric used to complicate the complex and to greet newcomers who entered through "revolving-doors."

The resulting goal displacement was joined to the establishment and celebration of fantasies about change and accomplishment. The philosopher John Wilson (1979) has argued that people in education may be particularly prone to fantasies; it is

> precisely, the fact that our fantasies and desires overwhelm us. We lack not intelligence or willpower, but the ability to step back from ourselves, reflect, attend to our own feelings and the world, and hold our attention steady. (p. 30)

Shaw (1972) argues similarly in a case study of curriculum decision making in a college of education that a

> wrong decision is likely to be one which either promotes, or stems from, a special state of mind in the deciding group, which is out of touch with reality: a unreal goal or a false consensus. (p. 51)

In the curriculum-development effort we studied, fantasies were sustained by the changing faces, the changing discourse emphases, the changing stages of program development, and the movement of the program through the channels and levels of the bureaucracy. Thus goal displacement became and remained invisible.

Change is not virtue. But, if the goals of an educational innovation are worthwhile, we have to train our attention toward them and *hold that attention*

steady. It is important to realize that the experiences of this development team are not unique. A literature on organizational behavior and change is consistent with our findings (March & Olsen, 1979; March, Note 4; Meyer, Scott, & Deal, Note 5). In a study of program development in social work, Westbury and Koberlik (Note 6) observed the following paradox:

> A highly formulated and elaborated practice-rationale that failed to guide day-by-day teaching in any real way which was, at the same time, the focus of considerable affectivity on the part of the faculty, an affectivity which had the effect of masking the real nature of the problems in execution that the faculty experienced continually. (p. 35)[4]

Kreiner (1979) points out that highly discussable problems are seldom solvable. When process and outcome "drift apart" in decision making, "feelings about appropriate results are reflected in rhetoric surrounding the outcomes but they are buffered from the process (p. 156). The summary of Kreiner's analysis of decision making in a school in Denmark that was ideological in orientation and radically democratic in organization resonates well with our retrospective account of equity-oriented curriculum change in teacher education:

> Various symbolic and substantive problems were exercised. Participants wandered in and out. The definition of what was being decided changed over time. The process was guided by the often casual temporal connections among problems, solutions, participants and choice opportunities. (p. 170)

As Seidman (Note 7) comments in his examination of implementation and evaluation of large-scale educational programs, the crucial aspects of intent and implementation may simply not be part of most attempts at educational reform.

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[4]Another relevant aspect of their findings is summed up elsewhere (McKinney & Westbury, 1975) as follows: "We found that the faculty teaching the program experienced considerable difficulty as they sought to generate a content that they could use as a basis for their day-to-day teaching that reflected their goals and aspirations for both social work practice and their program. They found it almost impossible to escape from the pull of concepts, content, and methods that they had long taught and used." (p. 5)

Empirical facts of this kind, however, do not make a stance of "organizational meretriciousness" justifiable. So what if people are made to feel good or if the organization comes to *look* equitable or innovative? Taking out symbolic, affective, or processual warrants for behavior that is wayward by any standards of goal commitment means changing the definition of the problem after the fact. If we are interested in changing programmatic regularities in education, we have to change behavioral regularities (see Sarason, 1971). In argument, fixing the definitions of terms in premises in order to make the conclusion come out right is frowned upon as the fallacy of equivocation. If we are serious about substantive goals in educational innovation, we must avoid the matching fallacy of goal replacement.

Organizational and curriculum theory imply advice that bears on this larger issue in educational reform as well as on the particular case we studied. As Taba (1962) already observed in discussing curriculum development in schools, degrees of freedom must be

> commensurate with the degree of competency and available time. Curriculum planning, as has been iterated over and over again, is extremely complex. Individual teachers have neither the training nor the time to do a good job if they tackle the whole process, even though only a single teaching-learning unit be involved . . . There must, therefore, be different degrees of freedom for planning . . . which correspond to the levels of competency and the degrees of complexity involved in making certain decisions adequately. Otherwise the "developmental" freedom adds up to a curriculum which is barren of the very growth this freedom is to protect. (p. 443)

According to Cohen (1979), goal attainment is made less likely when decision-making bodies and processes are not characterized by "segmented structures" that determine the access of people, problems, and solutions to an arena of choice, and adequately regulate the investment in terms of time and energy of participants. We conclude that the program development effort we studied was plagued by problems that stemmed from

1. high degrees of freedom in a relatively unsegmented decision-making structure that we described as democratic and laissez-faire: one person, one vote;

2. high degrees of freedom in a participatory arrangement marked by changing audiences, captured in the theme "revolving doors";

3. high degrees of freedom for input into the curriculum development process, described as the theme, "clouds of ideas";

4. lack of articulation between process and outcome, and problems and choices, categorized and discussed as the themes "tribal rhetoric" and "growth as addition."

Thus, to increase the likelihood that substantive goals will be achieved in educational innovation, one must find ways to structure the access of ideas to decision-making situations and to segment participatory structures. In other words, it has to be decided who will make decisions and what problems will be resolved. That means also to suspend beliefs in romantic myths of universal ownership and participation (Dachler & Wilpert, 1978); at least, we have to be realistic about requisite levels of effort and competence.

Put like this, the solution seems simple. But the motivational pull toward fallacy and fantasy is strong. This is why, in the words of Cronbach and Suppes (1969),

> The most obvious role of disciplined inquiry during development is to be critical: to ask hard and unpopular questions, to find fault, and to certify genuine accomplishment while curbing premature enthusiasm. (p. 172)

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